FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

APRIL 3, 1915

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Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Uncle Sam: "Do you expect 'em to grow?"
Suffragist: "They will if you keep that animal tied."

Vol. III April 3, 1915 No. 14

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

Non-Partisan

National Headquarters
1420 F STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C.
COLORS—PURPLE, WHITE AND GOLD

Object—
Securing an amendment to the United States Constitution, enfranchising women.

Membership—
Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will work without considering the interests of any national political party.

Dues—
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News of the Week

Congressional Union Organizes as National Body

AT the meeting of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union in New York on March 31, a national constitution for the Union was adopted, and a plan of campaign for the months preceding the next session of Congress was agreed upon. Details are given elsewhere in this issue.

Presidential Suffrage Defeated in Rhode Island

A BILL granting suffrage to women in Presidential elections was defeated in the Rhode Island House of Representatives on March 24 by a vote of 65-31.

New Suffrage Bills in Minnesota

ALTHOUGH the Minnesota Senate has already defeated one bill for the submission of an equal suffrage amendment to the constitution, a second similar measure was introduced in that body on March 23. On the same day a Presidential franchise bill was introduced in the House.

New Jersey Referendum Scheduled for September 14

SEPTEMBER 14 is to be the date of the special election on the New Jersey suffrage amendment, if present plans are carried out. A bill providing for an election on this date is being drawn, but cannot be introduced until it is definitely known just how many amendments are to be voted upon. But two, the suffrage and one which provides for an easier method of amending the constitution, have thus far been piloted through both branches of the Legislature this session.

Jersey Senators' Feelings Hurt by Watchers' Bill

SOME of the members of the New Jersey Senate have been deeply grieved by what they term the women's "distrust of the men," as shown in their demand for the measure recently passed providing for women watchers at the polls. Have these sensitive gentlemen forgotten that the women's trustfulness in 1913 caused the loss of the suffrage bill after it had passed, through an "oversight" on the part of the authorities, in not having it advertised as the law required, and a resulting delay of a year in submitting the amendment?

And how about the comma that came near being left out this year? If New Jersey women think, not that all New Jersey men, but that the politicians of that State, will bear watching, who is to blame?

Reactionary Labor Bills Up in Campaign States

ATTEMPTS to pass bad labor legislation in two of the suffrage campaign States, New York and Pennsylvania, make it look as if manufacturers in those States were in a hurry to get all they could from the present legislatures, for fear something may happen next November to make succeeding legislatures less amenable to their will.

THE child-labor bill before the Pennsylvania legislature, pronounced by General Secretary Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee to be the worst child-labor bill he had ever seen, will probably be amended in committee to make it still worse.

The bare possibility that it may pass should be the greatest possible spur to the suffrage campaign in Pennsylvania, and an even greater spur to the demand for Federal action on both child labor and suffrage.

IN New York an attack has been made on the labor laws by means of a group of ten "anti-labor" bills. One changing the Workmen's Compensation Law to permit direct and immediate settlement between employer and employe passed the legislature and will be signed by the Governor in spite of the protests of organized labor and of civic organizations. A bill permitting women and children in canneries to work seventy-two hours a week instead of sixty-two, the present limit, was jammed through, but will be reconsidered because of charges of fraud in the vote. Other bills removing protection from women and children in canneries were defeated amid uproarious discussion. Majority Leader Hinman, who headed the support of these measures, announced himself as anti-suffrage during his unsuccessful primary campaign for the gubernatorial nomination last fall.

A Concrete Argument for Equal Pay

THE American Express Company is substituting women for men clerks in its New York offices, as an economy measure. The men's pay averaged $60 a month. The women get $40. Officials of the company defend the measure on the ground that it is an easy way to lessen expense without lowering efficiency. Incidents of this kind will bring men to join women in demanding that women receive "equal pay for equal work."

Chicago Women Urged to Vote for the General Good

IN preparation for the municipal election to take place in Chicago on April 6, the Woman's City Club of Chicago has issued a leaflet addressed to women voters. Among the questions it puts are the following:

"On election day when I drop my ballot in the box, am I voting only for myself and my own family? Do I realize that I represent in this action the 500,000 families of Chicago?

"On election day, does Chicago hold the first place in my mind, or do I think first of the political party and its advantages?

"When I vote, am I content to be just one more party vote—doing the bidding of some politician? Am I following the old party spoils habit, or am I bringing in a new, independent habit of political mind?"

The effect of these questions will be felt far beyond Chicago's city line. Women who have learned to think in terms of a city's welfare, and to vote for this, subordinating personal and party interests, will be able to do the same for the nation when a national issue demands it.

Japanese Women in Politics

IN the campaign preceding the recent general election throughout the Japanese Empire women took an active part for the first time in the history of Japan. Though according to report, their work was confined to canvassing, and was undertaken only by wives of candidates on behalf of their respective husbands, the incident is noteworthy. Japan has leaped from feudalism to twentieth century world power while equal suffrage has been creeping haltingly across the United States. If she keeps up her record for political progress, Congress must bestir itself, lest women vote on both shores of the Pacific before they do on the western shore of the Atlantic.

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WHAT THE PRESS SAYS

Why the Congressional Union?

THE suffrage amendment received 90 votes to 32 in the Texas House of Representatives, but since a constitutional amendment may not be submitted to the voters of the State unless it is adopted by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly, suffrage is compelled to wait. The case of Texas answers the question "why the Congressional Union organization" among the suffragists?—*The Woman's Witness, March* 20.

Women Organize New Suffrage Move

WITH representatives from twenty-four States present and an all day meeting, beginning with luncheon at the Peg Woffington Coffee House yesterday, and afternoon and evening sessions at the house of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, 447 Madison Avenue, the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage became a national organization, adopted a constitution, and started a campaign.

It was one of the most important suffrage meetings held in New York in a long time. It means a new national organization which will take from the old national organization much of its young blood and enthusiastic, radical workers.

The work of the new organization is to forward the Bristow-Mondell federal suffrage amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which gives the vote to the women directly by act of Congress and opposes the Shafroth-Palmer federal amendment, which makes State as well as Federal action necessary. The national organization of long standing is supporting the latter bill.—*New York Times, April* 1.

Woman Suffrage as a National Measure

WOMAN'S suffrage as a national measure for Federal amendment was endorsed yesterday by the Congressional Union in its new constitution based on the spirit of the Bristow-Mondell amendment introduced last year in both Houses of Congress. Twenty-four States were represented in the conference by 250 delegates.—*New York American, April* 1.

Twenty-four States are Represented in the New Rival Women's Suffrage Organization. Congressional Union's Efforts to be Extended with Independent Methods

ALMOST significant meeting of women ballot seekers was held yesterday under the auspices of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Until recently this organization, founded by Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Alice Paul, has confined its activities almost exclusively to Washington, D. C., where it has tried to make an impression on the members of Congress.

The new constitution, which makes the union a national body * * * provides that the Congressional Union shall be nonpartisan in dealing with all political parties and its membership shall be open to those women who regard woman suffrage as the foremost political issue and will work for it without considering the interests of any national party.—*New York Herald,* April 1.

Women to Fight in Every State

THE first step toward a nation-wide back-fire campaign to convince Congressmen that the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage is in earnest about votes for women through a Federal amendment to the Constitution has been made.—*Washington Herald,* April 1.

Would Put Bill for Suffrage to National Vote

WHAT the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage can do during the next nine months while the United States Congress is not in session was the subject for consideration at a national conference of the Advisory Council of the union, held in the home of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, 477 Madison Avenue, yesterday afternoon. The conference, which was the most important suffrage gathering of the year, resulted in the adoption of a constitution and detailed plans for the coming campaign.

The nonpartisan color of the Congressional Union in urging upon Congress the amendment for submitting suffrage to the voters for a national referendum was again emphasized. The constitution drawn up provides for still more energetic action in attempting to have this amendment—known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment—put before the voters.

The plan of action is perhaps the most ambitious ever conceived. It provides for a branch office of the national union in every State and for an energetic campaign, with expert organizers, press representatives and speakers, in every Congressional district in the country.

An interesting phase of yesterday's meeting was the evidence of growing sentiment that the guns of the suffrage flotilla should be trained on the National Capital at Washington and that the matter of State referendums should be abandoned for the time being. —*New York Call,* April 1.

Congressional Union, Meeting Here, Decides to Carry Greatest Battle Yet Into Congress

TO scale the political wall which surrounds that medieval fortress known as the Congress of the United States, and to "fill up the moat of prejudice and superstition," was the volley fired today at the luncheon of 250 women delegates to the Congressional Union conference which met in this city.

Fight was the keynote of the meeting. The delegates made it plain they represented 4,000,000 women voters, and the 4,000,000 had made up their minds to stop talking, to quit argument, to abandon the scheme of educating the public, and all rush to the front and give battle.

Not in years has woman's cause assembled so many fair advocates in New York. Like so many Joans of Arc the orators at the luncheon pictured their sisters battling for woman suffrage. * * *

Among the delegates who are acting independently of the State organizations and marshaling their forces for a Federal attack to obtain the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the constitution giving women the vote, were the wives of many men prominent in national affairs and themselves prominent also in their own efforts.—*Evening Mail,* March 31.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL

MRS. ROBERT ADAMSON, wife of the Fire Commissioner of New York City, and a prominent officer of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York, has in the last week joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Adamson, who comes from Georgia, lends a Southern fire and charm to her activity in behalf of woman suffrage.

Another new member of the Advisory Council is Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, whose work is part of the history of the national suffrage movement. Mrs. Stubbs, who did brilliant work for suffrage in Illinois and New York, joined the Congressional Union in its early days; and as national press chairman, speaker, and campaigner, has given the Union a service beyond thanks. It was a source of great regret to all the members of the Union that ill health made it necessary for her to resign her position as press chairman. As member of the Advisory Council, however, Mrs. Stubbs will give the Union the ardent and energetic support which has been one of its big assets.

At the recent Advisory Council meeting in New York two new and valuable members of the Advisory Council were gained; Mrs. J. Borden Estee, of Montpelier, Vermont, and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr. Mrs. Estee is one of the most influential suffragists in New England; Mrs. Dorr is nationally known as a writer and speaker, and as the author of the brilliant book, "What Eight Million Women Want." Mrs. Dorr is especially dear to members of the Congressional Union because she was the first editor of *The Suffragist,* its official organ, and watched over its footsteps for nearly a year until it was able to walk alone.

New members who joined the Congressional Union at the New York Conference, were: Mrs. M. B. Stanton, sister of Senator O'Gorman, of New York; Mrs. Edward Kilroe, Mrs. Claude Kress, Dr. Lillian K. Farrar, who has just been elected a member of the American College of Surgeons, the first woman of New York to be proposed for membership in this body; Miss Amy Hutton, Miss M. Cecilia Gaffney, Vice-President of the Women's State Democratic League of New York; Mrs. Margaret Dryden Brewer, President of the College Woman's League; Dr. Alice Asserson, Mrs. A. R. Colvin, member of the Executive Board of the Minnesota State Woman Suffrage Association of the State, Miss Aimee Hutchinson, organizer, Woman Suffrage Party, and Mrs. Theodore Rousseau, wife of the assistant to Mayor Mitchell.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10th, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25th, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26, (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12th, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

National Union Among Women

A STRONG national spirit was felt at the meeting of the Advisory Council in New York City.

There was on the one hand a sense of grave responsibility for the record of the National Government and a realization that women must have national power in order to exert their due share of influence upon the national legislature.

Mrs. Marian Cothren, Vice-President of the Woman Suffrage Party of Brooklyn, said: "The 63d Congress was an anti-social Congress. It was concerned entirely with commercial disputes and ignored every phase of humane legislation presented to it. It failed to act on the child-labor bill, the national prohibition measure, national woman suffrage, and on the problem of unemployment. The only piece of social legislation which it passed was the Seaman's Bill, and that in a maimed and mutilated fashion. The women of New York, no matter what success they gain in their own State, will never rest content with local power. They will demand the enfranchisement of the women of the whole nation, so that they may be in a position to obtain from Congress the protection of the lives of the nation's people."

This national enfranchisement of women, the conference unanimously believed, must be obtained nationally. Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, one of the most influential suffragists in the State of New York, said: "We have long realized that the suffrage movement lacked concentration, that much time and strength was wasted in indiscriminate State campaigns. The Congressional Union has shown us how we can avoid this waste by striking at the national legislature by the united forces of the suffrage movement all over the country."

When such spirited support of national work is felt by suffragists in the heat of their own State campaign, it is evident that the Federal woman suffrage amendment has behind it a united womanhood.

The Demand for Freedom

THE Congressional Union," said several of the speakers last Wednesday, *"demands* the enfranchisement of women."

"It seems to me," said Rose Winslow, in a quaint and individualistic little speech, "that one of the reasons why it is wrong to work State by State is that we are forced to approach every individual man in the States and win his personal consent to our enfranchisement. This is buttressing the very evil we are seeking to destroy—man's belief in his inherent superiority; and it fastens still more securely on women the ancient habit of begging for what they really think themselves justly entitled to. It is far wiser and stronger to assume that the Government which has not granted women the right of suffrage has been derelict in its chief duty, and that women should do all in their power to have it promptly dismissed from office."

Growth in National Work

MRS. Harvey W. Wiley, speaking at the luncheon preceding the conference of the Congressional Union in New York on March 31, gave an interesting bird's eye view of the advances made by suffrage at Washington during the past two years.

"In Washington we used to get up suffrage meetings mostly attended by suffragists and sit around and listen to suffrage speeches; and not get anywhere.

"But things have changed now since the advent of the Congressional Union. The Congressional Committee of the National in previous years used to arrange for the annual suffrage hearings in Congress, so inspiring to attend; and I believe used to keep a suffrage census of the members of the two Houses. But there was little else it could do. In the last two years, however, the work started by the Congressional Union looms large all over the country and eclipses in importance even the State campaigns. Because in working for the Bristow-Mondell amendment we are working for all the campaign States in one fell swoop.

"The work for the Federal amendment has incidentally done several things. Starting with the 4th of March parade, it has unmasked the tyranny of the Rules Committee of the House—alone in my opinion justifying the existence of the Congressional Union,—it has forced the hand of the Democratic Party, compelled a favorable report from the Senate, and secured a line up on the floor of both Houses. This is a wonderful record for two years' work.

"It will be glorious if New York, or Pennsylvania should win. It would be a mighty blow struck for suffrage. But think what it would be if the Bristow-Mondell Amendment had secured its necessary two-thirds vote in Congress and stood knocking at the doors of thirty-seven States. Every cent spent in any one State would be directly helping every other State. It would be a species of glorious co-operation.

"Now if a campaign State loses, it must begin all over again, from the beginning; then there would be no ending until success had been achieved; no money or time could be wasted in the one mighty concerted effort.

"So I say success to New York. If it wins it means a great victory. But if it loses, do not lose heart, but join hands with the Union in working for the original woman suffrage amendment, planted by Miss Anthony, watered by the Union, and destined to bear fruit to bless every woman in these United States."

RESULTS OF ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING

Plan of National Organization Adopted—Two Thousand Dollars Raised to Begin the Work

THE meeting of the Advisory Council in New York City on Wednesday, March 31st, was marked by extraordinary enthusiasm, earnestness of purpose and unanimity of feeling. The Conference was called to consider the problem of organizing branches of the Congressional Union in every State of the Union to support the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, forbidding disfranchisement on the ground of sex.

The conference decided to hold a convention in every State in the Union, culminating with a convention of women voters in San Francisco during the period of the Panama-Pacific Exposition; and to hold in the National Capital, during the week in which Congress convenes, a pageant based on episodes in the life of Susan B. Anthony, and expressing the determination of the women of the whole nation to achieve their national enfranchisement.

An initial fund of two thousand dollars was pledged then and there by the members of the Council themselves.

AT the luncheon with which the conference opened there were speeches of unusual quality; Rheta Childe Dorr was an admirably terse and witty toastmistress. Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe made a fine declaration of faith in the work of the Congressional Union, which, she declared, was the work of the future. "I am with the Congressional Union with all my temperament," Mrs. Howe said, "because it is in the van of the suffrage movement in America and is marking out its path."

Mrs. Marian Cothren, Vice-President of the Woman Suffrage Party, said that the women in every State now fully realized the necessity of obtaining federal political power in order to exact from Congress legislation dealing adequately with social problems.

Mrs. Sophie Irene Loeb, Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. Wilfred Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Rose Winslow, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, Miss Helen Todd, and Mrs. Nina E. Allender, contributed speeches of fine spirit and earnestness.

THE business session of the convention was opened by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who gave a beautiful tribute to the work and character of the three great leaders of the suffrage movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony. She introduced as Chairman of the afternoon session, Mrs. John Rogers, who said:

"I wish we could go on thinking of the lovely things that Mrs Belmont has recalled to our minds—the lives of those three great women; but if we are to be worthy of them we have got to get to work.

"The coming of the Congressional Union to New York was a boon to New York. The members of the Congressional Union have done extraordinarily effective political work with the New York Congressmen, and have advanced the interests of the New York State campaign.

"The Congressional Union is now a national association, with members in every State. It has established seven headquarters—in Washington, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Denver, Portland, New York and San Francisco. In a year and a half, through its disorganized members, it has done this wonderful work. It has been an astonishing thing that the work could have been done in this way.

"Now the time has come when we want to draw these members together, add to them, and make a strong group in every State to work for the Susan B. Anthony amendment and that alone. The time has come to do that. We feel the need of it. We have in the past appealed to the already-formed old State organizations, and we can do it still;—all can help in furthering the national suffrage amendment; but as there are two amendments before Congress, we feel the need of appealing to a group in every State that is organized to support the one amendment that is framed to advance the best interests of woman suffrage."

MRS. ROGERS then introduced Mrs. Kelley, who dealt with the subject, "What Amendment Shall We Support in Congress?" Mrs. Kelley said:

"I think it is not generally realized by even active suffrage workers that the Shafroth-Palmer amendment is not only queer and confusing, but is very dangerous to the work of the near future for federal woman suffrage.

"Much more in the West and South than here in the conservative East, people have learned that it is an advantageous thing to have in the States for all measures, and not only for one measure, the referendum; and a representative number of States have established the initiative and referendum. Now we have presented to us the confusing proposal that the initiative and referendum for one particular use, the consideration of woman suffrage, shall be bestowed on all the States through the laborious process of amending the Federal Constitution.

"I think that if an active enemy of suffrage had set out with the help of black coffee and other stimulants to invent a confusing idea, he could not have been more ingenious than in inventing this one.

"Supposing the Shafroth-Palmer amendment should take effect tomorrow. We should have fastened upon us by law the necessity of undergoing thirty-seven suffrage referendums. Half the States have now this method of amending their Constitution, and almost all the States which have not that method, can secure a referendum on suffrage through their State legislatures. Why amend the Constitution to give the States what they have?

"If this amendment were in force tomorrow, we should have twelve more State campaigns to face than if the Susan B. Anthony amendment were passed. Under the Susan B. Anthony amendment, if thirty-six of these States approve of the amendment, there we are. Twelve States need not even approve of it, if it passes through thirty-six. The lazy ones get it for nothing. Under the Shafroth-Palmer amendment, we should have to win every separate State through a popular referendum.

"Why should sane people burden themselves like that? This would mean doing the same work twice. You would have first to amend the National Constitution to get this lumbering device, and then you would have to amend all of the State Constitutions separately.

"It has taken sixty-five years to get twelve States in line for suffrage. How many years would it take to get all the rest by this method?

"The Shafroth-Palmer amendment is very difficult to explain, but I am very much afraid it has to be explained. We have got not only to push the thing we want, but to explain why we do not want this. If this amendment is ardently pushed by any considerable number of suffragists during the next two years, the work for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment is going to be by so much hindered and hampered.

"I am very thankful that my beloved friend, Miss Jane Addams, is going to Holland to work for peace, because I grieve—it is one of the griefs of my life—that she did more or less advocate this unhappy proposal. I am glad of every advocate of this measure who is subtracted from the number of active workers.

"I believe, for the first time in my life, that we are upon the eve of carrying a Federal Amendment. I believe quite vigorously that we are within two Congresses of its passage. I even know some young suffragists who think that is too long (applause); that I am putting the limit too far away. I begrudge every quarter of an hour that has to be spent in pushing aside this amendment; and, after all, the best way to get rid of a thing you do not want is to substitute in the minds of the people the thing you do want. The best way to get rid of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment is to fill the minds of the American people with the old Susan B. Anthony Amendment."

At the close of Mrs. Kelley's address a member of the Union proposed from the floor the following resolution: "That this conference of the Congressional Union is opposed to the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment." This resolution was seconded and passed unanimously.

MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER then proposed for the consideration of the Conference a national Constitution for the Congressional Union. After some discussion, the following Constitution was adopted by a majority vote of the convention, each section of the proposed constitution being voted upon separately.

Constitution of the Congressional Union

ARTICLE I.

The name of this association shall be the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

ARTICLE II.—Object.

Its object shall be to secure an amendment to the United States Constitution, enfranchising women.

ARTICLE III.—Membership.

Membership shall be open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party; and to all associations in sympathy with the purpose of the Union, which are accepted by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV.—Dues.

There shall be an entrance fee of twenty-five cents to be paid by each member to the National Headquarters; and an entrance fee of ten dollars to be paid by each league on admission to the Congressional Union. There shall be no other dues.

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ARTICLE V.—Colors.

The colors of the organization shall be purple, white and gold.

ARTICLE VI.—Plan of Organization.

The members of the Union in each State shall, at an annual convention, elect a State chairman; the State chairman shall appoint a chairman for each Congressional District, who shall in turn appoint chairmen for the next largest subdivisions of the State; and she in turn for the subdivisions under her, down to the smallest political division, all of the chairmen and officers being women. At the annual convention of the State, the members in each State shall adopt their own general plan of organization and elect their State officers, under the plan here outlined.

ARTICLE VII.—Executive Committee.

There shall be an executive committee, chosen by the delegates at the convention held near the time of opening of Congress. The chairman of the executive committee shall be chosen by the members of the committee. Nominations for the members of the committee shall be proposed to the convention by a nominating committee appointed by the executive committee. The executive committee shall fill vacancies occurring on the committee. The direction of the work of the Union shall be in the hands of the executive committee.

ARTICLE VIII.—Advisory Council.

There shall be a National Advisory Council chosen by the executive committee and composed of women not holding any other official position in the Union.

ARTICLE IX.—National Committee.

There shall be a national committee, composed of the Congressional Union chairmen of each State and the chairmen of all State branches, each of whom shall have a vote at all conventions of the Congressional Union.

ARTICLE X.—Conventions.

A convention may be called at any time by the executive committee. Such conventions may be attended by all members of the organization, but the voting members shall be one delegate for each fifty members in any branch for whom the twenty-five cent dues have been paid; the Congressional Union chairmen for each State; the chairmen of all State branches; the members of the executive committee; officers, and chairmen of all national committees.

ARTICLE XI.—Amendments.

This constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any convention of the association, provided that such amendment shall have been specified in the call for the meeting.

MRS. WILLIAM L. COLT, Chairman of Literature, then presented a review of the existing literature on the national suffrage amendment. Her address will appear later in *The Suffragist.*

Miss Stevens gave an account of the work done in New York City since the opening of the New York headquarters of the Congressional Union. She was followed by Mrs. Gilson Gardner, who spoke on the changes produced by the November elections in the personnel of the 64th Congress, and the result on suffrage of the changed situation. Mrs. Gardner's address, which is full of interesting material, will also be printed in another number of *The Suffragist.*

WHEN the conference reconvened in the evening, Miss Hazel MacKaye, Chairman of the Committee on Plays and Pageants, gave a brief outline of the great pageant on the life of Susan B. Anthony, which she is now preparing for the week of the opening of Congress next fall. Miss Mackaye said in part:

"We want to show a few realistic happenings in the life of Miss Anthony, significant of the various phases of her career; but we want to show also the struggle of her spirit, and how through her efforts the tremendous obstacles she was trying to overcome gave way before her.

"The pageant will be put on at Convention Hall in Washington, a large hall that seats ten thousand people. The place is very big, and we are going to get our effects very simply. Back of the stage we will have the simplest background, which will sometimees be dark, to convey the idea of mystery; and, again, by means of lighting, we will make it glow with crimson or gold, to bring out the visions which come in the course of Miss Anthony's arduous life. We will have to use all our ingenuity in striving to make the costumes beautiful; but we will use what art allows us to use, the right to make a choice. So through the means of lighting, through the background and a few simple accessories, we believe we can put on a very beautiful pageant. However, no pageant can be given without money and without labor. It is immensely difficult to get people willing to keep at a thing with such consistent effort; and we will need four hundred people, men and women. That means organization, which we intend to begin this spring. Added to that we have got to have money. Pageants vary in their cost from about a hundred dollars to one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand. We will do this pageant very moderately.

"Women have not been very long fighting for their freedom, but there is one thing that they have done. They have used their sense of beauty to interpret the spirit of what they were asking for. That is a great service to have rendered to the public life of a nation, and it is a service women will render in greater and greater measure. It is a beautiful thing that this pageant, to be given by women in the cause of the enfranchisement of women, should represent Miss Anthony's life. I believe that no pageant for women has been produced in this country, except a pageant of Joan of Arc by Maude Adams. It is very appropriate that the women of the whole nation should unite to give a pageant for their Joan of Arc—Susan B. Anthony."

AT the close of the evening session, Miss Paul very briefly outlined the work of the next few months. Miss Paul said in part:

"We want to organize in every State in the Union. We will begin this by holding in each State a convention on the same lines as this conference, at which we will explain our purposes, our plans, and our ideals. At each of these conventions, the members will elect a state chairman who will appoint a chairman of each of the Congressional constituencies in her State. Each convention will also adopt a plan of State organization, suited to the needs of their locality. Each convention, too, will send representatives to a culminating convention of women voters, to be held at San Francisco during the course of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, on September 14th, 15th, and 16th. At this first convention of women voters to be held on their own territory in behalf of the national suffrage amendment, delegates will be appointed to come to Washington, D. C., the week Congress opens, to lay before their Representatives and the leaders of the majority party in Congress, the demand of women voters for the national enfranchisement of women. During the opening week of Congress, too, the pageant on the life of Susan B. Anthony, along the lines which Hazel MacKaye has just outlined to you, will be given. We want to make woman suffrage the dominant political issue from the moment Congress reconvenes. We want to have Congress open in the midst of a veritable suffrage cyclone.

"During the 63rd Congress, we have been able, with very little organized support, to force action on the federal suffrage amendment. When we have an active body of members in every State in the Union uniting in this demand, I certainly believe that we will be able to get our amendment passed."

Arrangements were immediately made for a number of State conventions; various members of the Advisory Council offered to organize conventions in their own State.

The Maryland Convention will be held in Baltimore on May 5 and 6. Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, Congressional Union organizer for Maryland, offered to arrange this convention.

The Connecticut Convention, which will be organized by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, Press Chairman of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, will be held at Hartford toward the end of May.

The Ohio Convention will be held in Columbus in May; it will be arranged by Mrs. Julius Stone, of Columbus.

The Maine Convention will take place in the month of August. Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers' League, promised to organize it.

In Delaware, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles and Miss Mabel Vernon will take charge of the convention of the Congressional Union, which will be held in Wilmington in May.

The Massachusetts Convention will be at Boston in November, and will be organized by Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page and Mrs. Olive Halliday Hasbrouck.

The New York Convention will be held in New York City toward the last of April, and is in charge of Miss Doris Stevens.

In Oregon, the convention, held in August at Portland, will be arranged by the Congressional Union organizer in Oregon, Miss Virginia Arnold.

Two thousand dollars was pledged then and there to finance the work of organizing branches of the Congressional Union in the various States. Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, made a captivating collection speech.

During the evening session, Mrs. Kent made a speech of unusual interest on the history of the work for the Federal suffrage amendment; Mrs. Annie Porritt spoke on the political work and ideals of Susan B. Anthony, and Miss Lucy Burns reviewed the record of the 63d Congress on woman suffrage. These addresses will be given in subsequent numbers of *The Suffragist.*

THE conference closed late in the evening of Wednesday, March 31, at a high pitch of enthusiasm. It was marked throughout by a deep belief in national work for woman suffrage and a determination to make abundant sacrifices to achieve that end.

Among those present at the conference were:

Miss Elizabeth D. Elder, of Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Katharine B. Day, of Hartford, Conn.; Miss Anna Constable, of New York; Miss Alice Carpenter, of New York; Mrs. Marsden J. Perry, of Newport, R. I.; Mrs. Oscar Davisson, of Dayton, O.; Mrs. Frederick Nathan, of New York; Miss Dotha Stone Pinneo, of Norwalk, Conn.; Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds, of Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Joseph Griswold Deane, of New York; Mrs. Solon H. Borglum, of Norwalk, Conn.; Miss Jessie Ashley, of New York; Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, of New York; Mr. George Creel, of New York; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, of St. Paul, Minn.; Mrs. Fola La Follette Middleton, of New York; Mrs. Louise Thurber, of New York; Mrs. Charles Logan, of New York; Mrs. R. T. Newton, of Nutley, N. J.; Miss Ida Blair, of New York; Mrs. John Dewey, of New York; Mrs. Henry Justice, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Lavinia Dock, of New York; Mrs. R. W. Fuller, of Westport, Conn.; Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, of Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. James MacPherson, of Saginaw, Mich.; Miss Mary Peters, of Saginaw, Mich.; Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page, of Boston; Mrs. Olive Hasbrouck, of Boston; Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Mary Kealty Claggett, of St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Norwalk, Conn.; Miss Aimee Hutchinson, of New York; Mrs. Robert Adamson, of New York; Miss Marion May, of New York; Mrs. James J. Higginson, of New York; Mrs. Grace Cotterill, of Seattle, Wash.; Mrs. Almira Sweeten, of Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Edward O. Parker, of Greenwich, Conn.; and Mrs. Lawrence O. Schlegel, of Norwalk, Conn.

CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

California

Headquarters: *Congressional Union Booth in the Palace of Education, Exposition Grounds, San Francisco.*

Organizer: *Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

THIS week we have had many, many visitors and have sold a large number of *Suffragists.*

During the week a large group of California women sought an interview with Vice-President Marshall, to express the interest felt by women voters in the national enfranchisement of women; the Vice-President, however, was unable to receive them.

Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, who represents the Maxwell Motor Car Company, is here and has secured the use of a Maxwell motor car for us for the open-air meetings during the entire time of the exposition. We are now making every effort to secure permission to speak on the grounds.

Our booth is becoming a club for the San Francisco women. There is an atmosphere of congenial co-operation here which pleases me very much. Several San Francisco women have offered to take certain days at the booth and greet the visitors. People constantly pass and stop to talk, either for or against us, which makes the booth a lively center of national suffrage propaganda.

This week Connecticut sent us a most attractive exhibit consisting of a small voting booth with dolls dressed to represent the enfranchised States, and also those of other countries where women vote, such as Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Isle of Man, in native costume. Alaska is dressed in furs. Nearby is a wall built of stones representing Inertia, Ignorance, Prejudice, Complacency, and the united opposition of the Vicious Interests. Behind this wall are dolls representing women who are still unenfranchised, including those of the New England States, New York and New Jersey. The whole exhibit is creating the greatest interest, among men as well as women.

Wayne County, Michigan, is planning to send us a large, framed suffrage map, which we very much need.

I am making preparations for an international meeting the first week of June. The exact date is not yet settled, as my arrangements for the Festival Hall are not yet complete. The Australian women have said that they will be glad to help with this meeting. Mr. Herman Garde, the Norwegian Consul, and other Norwegians have also promised their help.

Last Monday I went down to Los Gatos, through the invitation of Mrs. Woodnut S. Burr, and spoke at the Civic Center. We had a splendid meeting, many of the women joining, and I feel that when we have our constitution ready to submit that we will meet with great co-operation in Los Gatos. I found a fine, ready-made enthusiasm for the Union and its politics.

Margaret Fay Whittemore.

Colorado

Headquarters: 324 *Seventeenth Street, Denver.*

Organizer: *Miss Ruth Astor Noyes.*

AT a very well attended and enthusiastic meeting of the Congressional Union on the afternoon of March 26, Miss Noyes called attention to the unqualified endorsement of the President and his administration in a speech made by Senator Thomas at a Democratic banquet the evening before. She observed that he had not even made an exception of the suffrage issue, as would naturally have been expected from such an ardent and loyal suffragist as the women of Colorado think Mr. Thomas to be. Upon the motion of Dr. Margaret Long, the following resolution was passed.

"*Resolved,* That we, the members of the Congressional Union and citizens of Colorado, do hereby call Senator Thomas' attention to the fact that he unqualifiedly endorsed the administration of a President who has up to the present time unhesitatingly refused to assist the women of this Nation in their splendid effort to secure national enfranchisement."

Upon the motion of Mrs. Cuthbert it was agreed to publish the resolution. An animated discussion of the Federal amendment showed that sentiment in favor of it had grown tremendously in the last month.

Tea was served, Mrs. Catherine Russell presiding at the tea table. This was the last meeting before Miss Noyes' departure from Colorado for Chicago and Washington. The Colorado members of the Union much regret that she feels it necessary to give up her work in the State. Mrs. Margaret W. Kessler writes: "Through Miss Noyes the women of Colorado have come to know the necessity of a Federal amendment and also the necessity of their support in getting this amendment. The Congressional Union has taught us that we must lay all party lines aside and work for this one thing—the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, enfranchising women. Then we as women, can do constructive legislation which will mean something to the Nation."

Miss Noyes during her six months' campaign in Colorado has built up a strong State organization to work for the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment. In June a convention is to be held, probably at Denver, at which delegates will be chosen to represent the Colorado Branch of the Congressional Union at the San Francisco Convention of women voters in September.

A committee will take charge of the Colorado work until a new organizer arrives. Mrs. Kessler will keep headquarters open, and several members, among them Mrs. M. H. Meigs, Mrs. Ethel Clark, Miss Harris and others will assist her.

Margaret W. Kessler.

Delaware

Headquarters: 305 *Delaware Ave., Wilmington.*

Organizers: *Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Anna McCue.*

WE are very busy arranging for the convention which will be held early in May and for the entertainment of delegates who will come from a distance. The membership campaign is progressing well; it is to be kept up until the date of the convention.

Anna McCue.

District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 *F Street, Washington, D. C.*

Organizer: *Miss Isabella Mott.*

WE are busy arranging for the District Convention to be held early in May. The program is to be made as attractive as possible and we hope to personally reach every member of the Union in the District within the next two weeks to insure a full attendance at the Convention. Mrs. John Jay White has accepted the chairmanship of the committee on arrangements. Miss Hazel Mackaye will shortly start the rehearsals for the Anthony play to be given the evening of the Convention.

Isabella Mott.

Illinois

Organizer: *Miss Gertrude L. Crocker.*

MRS. Gilson Gardner, who has just made an extended visit in Illinois, says that interest in the Federal amendment to remove the qualification of sex from the ballot is growing in the West.

The Congressional Union is gaining members every day in Chicago. The first of a series of monthly meetings has been held; the committee on ways and means formed; Miss Gertrude Crocker, who has been with the Congressional Union in Washington all last winter, is to act as State organizer. Miss Frances Frothingham, Miss Edith Swift and Mrs. Jervis Harbeck will conduct the propaganda for the education of the newly-elected Members of Congress so that they may be fully enlightened on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

The members of the Congressional Union in Chicago will hold a meeting on Sunday afternoon, April 4, at which Miss Ruth Astor Noyes, who has been the organizer for the Congressional Union in Colorado, will talk to them about the work in that State.

Gertrude Crocker.

Maryland

THE organization work in Maryland has been progressing rapidly this last week. On Friday a luncheon was held at the House Electric in honor of Miss Isabella Mott, of Washington. Miss Mott aroused great enthusiasm for the Federal work. In speaking of the policy of the Union Miss Mott said: "The Congressional Union is the first suffrage organization to come forward with a virile, dynamic, political policy. It takes the strength already gained in twelve States as a leverage by which to force favorable action from all parties."

A vote was taken in order to ascertain the feeling of the audience in regard to the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, and out of the forty women present, thirty-eight were in favor of the Amendment and of the Union's policy by which to secure it.

Open air meetings were held on Saturday night.

On Monday, March 29, Miss Marjory Soper of Catonsville, Maryland, held a parlor meeting at her home. Miss Lucy Burns was the principal speaker. Great interest was shown by those present and a large amount of money pledged to further the work in Congress. The membership is constantly increasing and there is no doubt that the 500 new members will be obtained before May 1.

The date of the convention to be held in Baltimore is May 5 and 6. The plans for the convention are under way.

Edna S. Latimer.

New York

Headquarters: 13 *East Forty-first Street, New York City.*

Organizer: *Miss Doris Stevens.*

WORKERS at the New York headquarters have been engrossed in the organization of the Conference of the Advisory Council in this city.

After the conference, a convention of the New York members of the Congressional Union will be held the last of April. At this convention a State Chairman will be elected, and a plan of organization for New York State adopted.

Mrs. William L. Colt, Literature Chairman, is very busy compiling literature on the Federal amendment. Pamphlets and leaflets on the following subjects are now ready: States' Rights and Woman suffrage; Would a Federal Suffrage Amendment Complicate the Race Problem?; Which Amendment shall we support?; The Economy of Federal Work; The Demand of Women Voters for the National Enfranchisement of Women.

Continued on Next Page

Treasurer's Report

Make All Checks Payable to
The Treasurer of the Congressional Union
1420 F St., Washington, D. C.
This Will Save Much Inconvenience

I ENCLOSE fifty-four cents for postage for the Union as I am fifty-four years old today." Thus writes one of the members of the Union who is never-failing in her support. We pass this suggestion on to other members. Stamp bills must be paid. No easier way than this could be devised for meeting this particular expense.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MARCH 25 THROUGH MARCH 31

Miss Mary A. Burnham	$25.00
Miss Rebecca L. Blaine	1.00
Mrs. J. J. Richardson	2.00
Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop	.54
Mrs. Summerfield Baldwin	5.00
Mr. Sidney Bennett	1.00
Mrs. William Stainan	.50
Mrs. Samuel Bancroft	5.00
Mrs. Edward M. Phillips	1.00
Miss Susan Howland	.15
Miss Anita Bradford	.25
Mrs. Elizabeth Fairlamb	.25
Mrs. Frances T. Rhodes	1.00
Miss Ellen Samworth	1.00
Mrs. Horace Burns	1.00
Mrs. Henry J. Kirles	1.00
Miss E. P. Speakman	2.00
Hon. William Kent	20.00
Mrs. William E. Harris (collected)	2.00
Miss Martha H. McDaniel	2.00
John P. Francis	1.00
Miss Mary Conkle	.50
George K. Latimer	10.00
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Mrs. J. Frank Ball	2.00
Mrs. James Grims	5.00
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Mrs. M. W. Adams	.50
Henry Collins	.50
E. Shidy	.25
F. Eton	.25
Harry Nichols	.25
Henry Fauquhar	.25
H. C. Hallam	.25
H. K. Fulton	.25
R. C. Lewis	.25
E. Dodge	.25
Susan B. Anthony Fund, per Miss Isabella Mott, Chairman:	
Miss Florence Bradley	10.00
Mrs. S. M. B. Young	25.00
Collections	3.92
Membership fees	15.51
Total	$215.12
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	58,248.31
Total through March 31, 1915	$58,463.43

1,000 New Subscribers

One of our members writes:

"I always look forward to the coming of *The Suffragist*, and always learn something new from reading it. I am enclosing you a check for one dollar for a new subscription."

Will you not during the coming week secure one new subscriber to *The Suffragist?*

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to The Suffragist

(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

MARCH 23 TO MARCH 30

Mrs. Paul Dessez	1
Mrs. C. C. Johnson	1
Mrs. W. T. Burch	2
Mr. Henry Justice	2
Miss Marie Schmidt	1
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler	1
Mrs. Milton Humes	1
Miss Marcia Potter	1
Mrs. William Spencer Murray	1
Miss Gertrude Crocker	1
	12
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	694
Total to March 30	706

CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

Continued from Preceding Page

Oregon

Headquarters: 514 *Eiler's Building, Portland.*
Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

YESTERDAY I spoke before the Parent-Teacher Association of West Portland. Everyone seemed much interested in the discussion of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment for Woman Suffrage. One woman said, "Well, a Federal amendment is the only thing that will give woman suffrage to some of the States. They will never get it by State action."

I go tonight to speak before another Parent-Teacher Association at Metzger. Besides these meetings, there are several others scheduled ahead; one before the World's Peace Association and another at Reed College.

We have just had a rather unique donation from one of our members. It is a two-inch ad. space in the largest Portland Symphony Orchestra program of the season. This program is mailed all over the United States, goes to the libraries, to musical organizations, and many of them even go abroad. The advertisement is accompanied by the Trumpet Figure, above which is printed in large letters the call to "Women Voters." It reads as follows:

"National Woman Suffrage Susan B. Anthony Amendment (known in the 63d Congress as Bristow-Mondell Amendment).

"Contribute to Susan B. Anthony Fund (to be used in the work for the passage of the Anthony National Amendment).

"Free Women—Is your Party for *National Woman Suffrage?* Your political strength counts—USE IT."

Virginia Arnold.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., of The Suffragist, Published Weekly at Washington, D. C.

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Business Manager—None.
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Owners—Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, Chairman.
Miss Lucy Burns, Vice-Chairman.
Mrs. Mary Beard.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.
Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner.
Miss Elsie Hill.
Mrs. Wm. Kent.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.

Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities—None.

ALICE PAUL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of March, 1915.
(Seal) ALBERT D. ESHER.
My commission expires Feb. 10, 1916.

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Crepe de Chine Waists
This is the Fabric of the Hour for WOMEN'S WAISTS at **$2.95**

The number of different styles we are featuring at this price would seem to give a range that would make it possible for every woman to find one to suit her.

Plain with hemstitch finish down front, and rolled organdy collar; box-pleated waists; waists trimmed with black moire ribbon and jet buttons, ornamented with a dainty rosebud at the side of the collar opening; plain crepe de chine, tucked front, with the new two-in-one collar; embroidered crepe de chine, and one style which has been taken directly from our $3.95 table, simply because we had a duplicate order of one color, giving us too many of that particular shade. The style of this waist is a very popular one, hemstitched inserts in yoke with cluster tucks and box pleat below.

Colors in the lot are pink, flesh, putty, sand, Belgian blue, tete de negre, Oregon green, also white and black.

Waist Store—Second Floor.